

## Message Text

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42

ACTION AF-06

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 SCCT-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03

H-02 INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02

SS-15 USIA-06 IO-10 AID-05 EB-07 /086 W

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P 031001Z APR 75

FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1436

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY BLANTYRE

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES

C O N F I D E N T I A L LUSAKA 0589

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINS, XJ, RH, ZA, SF

SUBJECT: ZAMBIA'S STAKE IN DAR OAU MEETING

REF: LUSAKA 569

1. EVER SINCE THE HIGH POINT OF DECEMBER LUSAKA ACCORDS (LUSAKA 2549, DEC 12-NOTAL), PRESIDENT KAUNDA'S EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT BY PEACEFUL MEANS HAVE BEEN PROGRESSIVELY SHAKEN BY FAILURE OF THE CEASEFIRE, ZIMBABWE NATIONALIST DISUNITY, ANC/SMITH IMPASSE ON VENUE AND CHAIRMANSHIP FOR CONSTITUTIONAL TALKS, APPARENT SMITH ADAMANCY ON PRINCIPLE OF MAJORITY RULE, CRITICISM IN OAU COUNCILS OF CONTACTS WITH SOUTH AFRICA, SITHOLE DETENTION AND HEARINGS, CHITEPO MURDER, CONFIDENTIAL

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AND NOW ZIMBABWE NATIONALIST CONDEMNATION OF ZAMBIAN HANDLING

OF LATTER CASE (REFTEL). ONE ACCOMPLISHMENT SINCE DECEMBER HAS BEEN SUBSTANTIAL WITHDRAWAL OF SOUTH AFRICAN PARAMILITARY FORCES FROM RHODESIA AND CONFINEMENT OF REMAINDER TO THEIR CAMPS. BUT, DESPITE ITS SIGNIFICANCE, THIS ACHIEVEMENT IS NOT SUFFICIENT TO DISPEL APPARENT IMPRESSION, AMONG SOME AFRICANS AT LEAST, THAT ZAMBIAN POLICY IN IMPLEMENTATION OF LUSAKA MANIFESTO HAS BEEN TOO SECRETIVE, TOO SOFT WITH SOUTH AFRICA, AND WITH TOO FEW RESULTS ON RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA, ALL CONTRASTING WITH THE EASE IN WHICH ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE ARE SHAKING OFF COLONIAL RULE.

2. IT LITTLE WONDER KAUNDA IS CONCERNED ABOUT APRIL 7-9 DAR MEETING OF OAU FOREIGN MINISTERS CALLED ESPECIALLY TO CONSIDER QUESTION OF CONTACTS WITH SOUTH AFRICA AND THEREFORE BEARING DIRECTLY ON INITIATIVES WHICH KAUNDA, TOGETHER WITH NYERERE AND KHAMA, HAS TAKEN REGARDING RHODESIA. THIS CONCERN REFLECTED IN MARK CHONA'S COMMENTS TO ME ON MARCH 26 (LUSAKA 549-NOTAL); MWAANGA, THOUGH UNCOMFORTABLE AND RESTRAINED IN DISCUSSION OF SUBJECT, WAS, IN KEEPING WITH HIS CHARACTER, LESS PESSIMISTIC (LUSAKA 0586). PROSPECTS THAT ZAMBIANS WILL ENCOUNTER PRESSURES TO CURTAIL THEIR INITIATIVES NOW OF COUGNE HEIGHTENED BY CONDEMNATION COMING FROM EVEN SUPPOSEDLY MODERATE ZIMBABWEAN NATIONALIST QUARTERS AADFSON SITHOLE) WITH SUGGESTION THAT KAUNDA HAS GONE SO FAR AS TO UNDERMINE ZIMBABWEAN GUERRILLA CAPABILITY BY HIS ARREST OF TOP ZANU MILITARY LEADERS. OAU FOREIGN MINISTERS WILL SCARCELY IGNORE THIS DEVELOPMENT.

3. KAUNDA SURELY WANTS TO SALVAGE HIS POLICY ON RHODESIA AND PURSUE THE PEACEFUL COURSE YET FURTHER, BUT HE MUST NOW ALSO DEVOTE ATTENTION TO PRESERVING HIS AND ZAMBIA'S PRESTIGE IN BLACK AFRICA. HE WILL PROBABLY DO THIS BY GIVING SOMEWHAT GREATER LIP SERVICE TO MILITANT POSITIONS (E.G., HIS EXPLICIT CONTENTION APRIL 1 THAT IAN SMITH IS ULTIMATELY RESPONSIBLE FOR CHITEPO'S MURDER.) AT SAME TIME HE IS TRYING, BY ESTABLISHING SPECIAL COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO CHITEPO DEATH, TO INVOLVE OTHER AFRICANS AND OAU IN ZAMBIAN INVESTIGATIONS TO EDUCATE THEM ABOUT REALITIES OF RHODESIAN SITUATION, PARTICULARLY INTERNAL ZIMBABWEAN NATIONALIST RIVALRIES. IN PROCESS HE NO DOUBT HOPES TO DEFLECT MILITANT CRITICISM AND DIFFUSE RESPONSIBILITY FOR DEALING WITH THIS SENSITIVE ISSUE.

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BILITY FOR DEALING WITH THIS SENSITIVE ISSUE.

4. MEANWHILE, ZAMBIA'S CONCERN AT DAR CONFERENCE NEXT WEEK IS TO AVOID MILITANT PRESSURES EITHER TO RESTRICT OR CEASE CONTACT WITH VORSTER AT PM NT WHEN LATTER'S LEVERAGE WITH SMITH IS STILL CRITICALLY NEEDED OR TO AGREE TO EARLY RESUMPTION OF ARMED STRUGGLE INSIDE RHODESIA. ABOVE ALL,

ZAMBIA WILL WANT TO EMERGE FROM DAR MEETING WITH ITS CREDENTIALS AS SUPPORTER OF SOUTHERN AFRICAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS INTACT AND WITH WIDEST POSSIBLE SUPPORT OF, OR ACQUIESCENCE IN, COURSE KAUNDA HAS BEEN PURSUING WITH NYERERE AND KHAMA. AT APRIL 5-6 KANANGA TRIPARTITE MEETING, THOUGH ANGOLA WILL PRESUMABLY HAVE EQUAL IF NOT MORE ATTENTION, KAUNDA WILL CERTAINLY BE BEKING REAFFIRMATION BY NYERERE AND SUPPORT BY MOBUTU OF THIS POLICY, AS WELL AS CONCURRENCE IN HIS STEPS TO PURSUE THOROUGH INVESTIGATION INTO CHITEPO DEATH. SOLID FRONT AT DAR BY ZAMBIA, TANZANIA, ZAIRE, BOTSWANA, AND PERHAPS FRELIMO MIGHT BE ENOUGH TO RALLY THE INDECISIVE BEHIND ZAMBIA'S POSITION AND FACE DOWN MILITANTS AND MALCONTENTS. NYERERE'S UNWAVERING SUPPORT WILL BE ESSENTIAL.

5. KAUNDA IS NOT GETTING EXTRA PORTION OF HELP WHICH HE THINKS SOUTH AFRICA HAS THE MANEUVERING ROOM TO PROVIDE TO ENABLE HIM TO NEUTRALIZE AFRICAN CRITICS OF HIS POLICY. THE FEAR IS THAT UNLESS THERE IS VERY QUICKLY SOME SPECIAL GESTURE FROM EITHER SMITH OR VORSTER TO WHICH KAUNDA CAN POINT AS HARDER PROOF OF REAL PROGRESS UNDER PEACEFUL COURSE, ZAMBIA MAY EMERGE FROM DAR CONCLAVE WITH MUCH LESS FREEDOM OF ACTION AND THUS A MORE DIFFICULT ROAD TO FOLLOW IN PURSUING GOAL OF PEACEFUL CHANGE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. UNFORTUNATELY, NEWS THIS MORNING THAT SPECIAL RHODESIAN TRIBUNAL YESTERDAY APRIL 2 FOUND SITHOLE REDETENTION JUSTIFIED IS PRECISELY WHAT KAUNDA DOES NOT NEED. WILKOWSKI

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